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CANADA AND AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES.

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RESOLUTIONS AND MESSAGES OF LOYALTY

FROM

CANADA, AUSTRALIA, AND  
NEW ZEALAND.

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Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.  
*July 1896*

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RESOLUTIONS AND MESSAGES OF LOYALTY

FROM

CANADA, AUSTRALIA, AND NEW ZEALAND.

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No 1

The HONOURABLE G. H. REID (New South Wales) to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.  
(Received 10.15 p.m., January 12, 1896.)

TELEGRAM.

Copy of message transmitted direct to Lord Salisbury from the Prime Minister of New South Wales

“The Governments of Australia and Tasmania view with satisfaction the prompt and fearless measures adopted by Her Majesty’s Government in defence of the integrity of the Empire.

We desire to convey our united assurances of loyal support. The people of Australia are in full sympathy with the determination of the Mother Country to resent foreign interference in matters of British and Colonial concern

Signed, on behalf, and at the request, of the Governments of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia.

G. H. REID.”

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No. 2.

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY to the HONOURABLE G. H. REID (New South Wales).

(Sent 4.30 p.m., January 13, 1896.)

TELEGRAM.

Her Majesty’s Government heartily thank you, and through you the Governments of Australia and Tasmania, for your patriotic assurance of sympathy and support. Nothing can give to us greater confidence in maintaining the rights of our country than the knowledge that we have the full approval and goodwill of our fellow-subjects in the great Colonies of the Empire.

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No. 3.

MR CHAMBERLAIN to VISCOUNT HAMPDEN (New South Wales).

My LORD,

Downing Street, January 17, 1896.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt from the Honourable G. H. Reid, Premier of New South Wales, of a copy of a telegram addressed by him to the Marquess of Salisbury, expressing on behalf of his Government and of the Governments of Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, the satisfaction with which they have viewed the action of Her Majesty’s Government in reference to the recent disturbances in the Transvaal.

2. Mr. Reid will have received a direct reply from Lord Salisbury to this telegram, but I should be unwilling to lose this opportunity of expressing to him my own appreciation of the feeling that has prompted the Australian Colonies to express in such an unmistakeable manner their sympathy with, and confidence in, the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government during an exceptionally momentous crisis.

The remembrance of the action of New South Wales and the other Colonies in 1884 has not been forgotten, and the present message will enhance the affectionate pride with which the Mother Country regards her Colonial fellow subjects

I have, &c.

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 4

The EARL OF GLASGOW (New Zealand) to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.  
(Received January 24, 1896.)

TELEGRAM.

Following telegram received from Prime Minister:—

Resolution passed by New Zealand Colonists at Auckland.

“Recent statesmanlike and patriotic conduct of Imperial Government with reference to Venezuela and Transvaal Republic has been such as to intensify loyal sentiments to the Queen of England, making us prouder than ever to belong to Empire of Great Britain”

No. 5.

MR CHAMBERLAIN to the EARL OF GLASGOW.

(Sent 1 30 p m February 1, 1896 )

TELEGRAM

I have received your telegram of 24th January Convey cordial thanks of Her Majesty's Government to your Prime Minister and people of New Zealand for their message.

Despatch follows by mail.

No. 6

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to the EARL OF GLASGOW.

MY LORD,

Downing Street, February 1, 1896

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 24th ultimo, informing me that your Prime Minister had transmitted to you by telegraph the terms of a resolution passed by a meeting of New Zealand Colonists at Auckland, expressing their appreciation of the conduct of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Venezuela and the Transvaal, and declaring their loyalty to the Queen, and the pride which they feel in belonging to the British Empire.

On behalf of Her Majesty's Government, I desire you to convey to Mr. Seddon and to the people of New Zealand our most cordial thanks for their message, which will further strengthen the deep conviction of Her Majesty and the people of the United Kingdom that, in the defence of the integrity of the Empire and in the maintenance of British and Colonial interests, they can confidently rely on the loyal co-operation of Her Majesty's subjects throughout the world.

I have, &c.

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 7.

The EARL OF ABERDEEN to Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.  
(Received March 10, 1896.)

Government House, Ottawa, Canada,  
February 21, 1896.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, copy of House of Commons debates containing a resolution moved by Mr. McNeill, M.P., and unanimously adopted by the Canadian House of Commons, expressing the unalterable loyalty and devotion of the House to the British Throne and Constitution.

I have, &c  
ABERDEEN.

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Enclosure in No. 7.

BRITISH CONNEXION AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

Mr. McNEILL moved

“That, in view of the threatening aspect of foreign affairs this House desires to assure Her Majesty’s Government and the people of the United Kingdom of its unalterable loyalty and devotion to the British Throne and Constitution, and of its conviction that, should occasion unhappily arise, in no other part of the Empire than the Dominion of Canada would more substantial sacrifices attest the determination of Her Majesty’s subjects to maintain unimpaired the integrity and inviolate the honour of Her Majesty’s Empire; and this House reiterates the oft-expressed desire of the people of Canada to maintain the most friendly relations with their kinsmen of the United States.”

He said: There is, Mr. Speaker, an obvious objection that may be urged against the resolution which has just been read. It may be said that it is superfluous, that it is unnecessary to assure the Government and the people of the United Kingdom of what they are already very well aware. I do not doubt, for my own part, that it is well understood in the United Kingdom that the people of Canada are devotedly attached to the Throne, and devotedly attached to the Constitution under which they live, and under which they enjoy such an ample measure of freedom, and so many inestimable benefits. But we have not to regard only the view that may be held of this resolution in the Mother Country. We have also to consider how it may be viewed in foreign countries, and it would seem that in some foreign countries very curious ideas prevail concerning the political aspirations of the people of Canada. If we may judge from statements made by public men on public occasions, and by articles which have appeared in the newspaper press, the idea seems to prevail in the United States, among a certain section of the people, that the people of Canada are only desirous of seizing the first favourable opportunity to transfer their allegiance from the Crown of England to the Republic of the United States, and that the hauling down of the Union Jack and the substitution in its place of the Stars and Stripes on every flagstaff in Canada, and on every Canadian masthead and peak that sails the sea, would be hailed with paeans of joy by the people of Canada. Now, Sir, to the members of this House, the representatives of the people of Canada, that view seems to be simply amazing. It seems to be simply amazing to the representatives of the people of Canada that the sentiments of Canada should be so entirely misapprehended by a section of the people who live in such close proximity to her. Why, Sir, as you know very well, from Halifax to Vancouver, there is not one single constituency in which, if the policy of annexation were advocated upon the hustings, the result would not be a hopeless and overwhelming defeat of the candidate who had the audacity to make that policy a plank in his platform. If there be one question more than another upon which the rank and file of the people of Canada are solid, it is this question of annexation to the United States. Sir, it is the earnest wish of every Canadian to maintain the most friendly relations with the great people who divide this continent with us, whom we regard as our kindred, and in whose magnificent achievements on behalf of civilisation it is not too much to say that every Canadian has almost a personal pride. But, while we admire the great qualities of our kinsmen of the neighbouring Republic, we have no desire whatsoever to enter into political partnership with them.

We very much prefer our Constitution to theirs, we very much prefer British connexion to connexion with the United States. We claim the right of a free people to choose between our own Mother Country and the American Republic. We only ask our good friends to the south to leave us alone, and to allow us to work out our own destiny in the way which seems to us best. We have made our choice, and our choice is with our Mother Country, and if necessity should unfortunately arise, the people of Canada will do what men may do to preserve for themselves and for those who come after them what they hold to be their most precious political inheritance—their birth-right as British subjects. I think, sir, that it is very much better that there should be no misunderstanding with regard to this matter, and therefore I have endeavoured, in very simple and plain language to state what the simple truth in regard to it really is. For misapprehensions in regard to matters of this kind have before now given rise to very grave consequences. The people of Canada are determined to maintain the position which this Dominion holds as an integral part of the British Empire, and they are perfectly well satisfied that a united British Empire is well able to take care of itself. Sir, we are for peace first of all, for honourable peace, but if we are assailed, we believe that we shall not prove altogether unworthy of the stock from which we come, and we know that at our back will be all the resources of an Empire whose resources are practically inexhaustible, more especially as regards the number of fighting men that can be, in case of emergency, placed in line. Those who know anything of the Sikh war, those who know anything of the losses that were sustained by the British forces at Chilianwalla, and on many another battlefield of which Lord Gough could tell only too well, and those who know anything of the extraordinary military prowess of the Ghoorkas and the many other tribes of hardy hillmen of India (among the most warlike races in the world), and those who recollect with what promptitude and enthusiasm our eastern troops responded to the call of Lord Beaconsfield when he summoned them to Malta some twenty years ago, will understand to what I refer. I repeat that the resources of this Empire, so far as the number of fighting men is concerned, are practically inexhaustible, and we are not altogether destitute of the financial strength which would be necessary to prosecute a great war to its conclusion. But, sir, we do not want war. And we do not expect we are going to have war. And least of all do we want war and least of all do we expect to have war, with our own kith and kin. There has been an extraordinary development of the sentiment of kinship, if I may so express it, among the British peoples during the last ten or fifteen years. So that in the Empire to-day, even more than ever before, a war with the United States would be regarded as a horrible and unnatural fratricidal strife. We have been surprised and pained by the recent explosion of ill-feeling towards this country and towards the Mother Country in the United States of America. But we refuse to believe that that explosion of ill-feeling adequately expresses the sentiments of those who are most competent to speak for the people of the United States. And, furthermore, we believe, and hope as we believe, that it does not even express the sentiments of so large a section of that people as at one time we supposed. But, sir, it would be an act of simple folly, it would be an act of culpable negligence, on the part of any reasonable people, not to recognise and take note of the patent fact that there is a disreputable and rowdy section of the American people who may some day cause us trouble; and it is absolutely necessary that any sober-minded people should take means to meet that trouble if unfortunately it should arise in the future. Therefore, I have been much gratified, as I am sure the country has been much gratified, to find that we have been called upon to make provision for the better defence of Canada. Not that I wish to assume or suggest that this provision for better defence arises altogether because of anything that may have happened on our southern border. For, Mr Speaker, unhappily we know that these symptoms, these proofs of hostility, have not been confined to the section of the people of the United States to which I have referred. Unfortunately, these proofs of unfriendliness seem to come from the four corners of the world, and, as my hon. friend from Albert (Mr Weldon) said in that magnificent speech with which he delighted this Chamber a few days ago, it would seem as though the very magnitude and wealth, and prosperity and happiness of our Empire had engendered envy and cupidity where least we expected to find them. And it would seem to-day as if trouble and trial, and even danger, were closing down over those famous islands “set in the silver sea,” that we all hold so dear. For, sir, there have suddenly loomed up the most threatening thunder clouds of war that have darkened the political horizon of England for many and many a long year. And, sir, how has England, our own England, borne herself in the midst of the menace and danger which compass her about? Why, sir, she has borne herself like the mighty mother of

heroes that she is—the great heart but beat fuller and prouder in the hour of danger. Sir, the spectacle of England's majestic composure and unflinching self-reliance in the presence of the undisguised and the altogether unexpected hostility of so many of the great powers of the world has sent a thrill of admiration and of pride through the pulses of every loyal subject of the Queen. And, Sir, I venture to say that England's conduct of to-day will not be found wanting even though, "in far-off summers that we shall not see," it be weighed in the balance against some of those splendid incidents that are set like precious jewels in the history of mankind. Mr. Speaker, we wish the people of England and of Ireland and of Scotland to know that the people of Canada are no mere fair-weather friends. We want our kinsmen in Australasia, some of whom we welcomed here so recently, to know that we are with them in this issue heart and hand; and we want the whole world to know that, come what may, in whatever part of the Empire they may happen to reside, the British people are one people, animated by one spirit and determined to stand together as one man in defence of their common rights and in the maintenance of their common interests. Sir, we desire peace before all. We regard war with horror. But we are prepared to accept it with all its consequences, come from what quarter it may, if it be necessary to do so in order to defend the honour and integrity of our own Empire.

Mr. DAVIES (P.E.I.): I rise with pleasure, Mr. Speaker, to second, and to say a few words in support of, the resolution my hon. friend has just proposed. Speaking personally, I might say that, had I had the pleasure of seeing the resolution before it was put upon the Order paper, I would have suggested the elimination of some of the more formal phrases which appear in it. It appears to me that this is not an ordinary resolution, and should not be treated in an ordinary way. It is a resolution asking the representatives of the Canadian people to pledge Canada to a substantial sacrifice, if necessary, to maintain the integrity of the Empire; and personally I would have been glad, when we were asked in Parliament assembled to pledge ourselves to a solemn resolution of the kind, that all mere formal expressions which are used in passing formal resolutions year after year, should be entirely eliminated, and that the resolution should be as simple as befits the gravity of the situation, as, I think, it could be made with the elimination of a few words. However, I do not rise to criticise, but to support, and that I do most cordially, after the sympathetic criticism of the phraseology of the resolution. Great Britain has passed through troublous times lately which have called for her latent strength. If isolated—whether splendidly or dangerously, I won't debate—she has, in Mr. Chamberlain's words:—

"Stood sure in the strength of her own resources, in the firm resolution of her people, without respect to party, and in the abundant loyalty of her children from one end of the Empire to the other."

Sir, we often notice that Mr. Punch hits off in a cartoon the better view, and voices better the higher wishes of the people of England than, perhaps, can be done in a column of the "Times," and those who have followed "Punch" lately have noticed that, in describing the situation of affairs there, he pictured Britannia standing on the shores of the sea-girt isle, stern, solemn, and alone, looking over the troubled waters and exclaiming:—

"Come the three corners of the world in arms  
And we shall shock them: naught shall make us rue,  
If England to herself do rest but true."

In these words there is a whole volume written. Sir, since Shakespeare wrote these words there has arisen a greater Britain in the world. There is the great Canadian Dominion, the Australasian Empire. I was going to call it, the Colony at the Cape, and the great dependency of India. From each and all of these have come home words of cheer and comfort to the motherland. The hearts of her children have gone out to the great lone, isolated, mother, and we to-day but do our duty when we pledge ourselves solemnly in Parliament, that if the occasion arises we are prepared to make material sacrifices for the integrity of the Empire. At present, sir, the continent of Europe may be said to be a great armed camp. The nations there face each other with armies literally numbered by millions, and we are told that the Empire of Great Britain is counted amongst them, on account of the few men she could put into the field from a military standpoint, as a second or third-rate power. But, sir, when the American interests of Great Britain were threatened in the now celebrated Venezuelan Message of the President of the United States, there went up from the English people a cry of surprise, a cry, almost, of horror, that such a threat or menace should have come from her own kin. When her interests



in the Cape were menaced by the German autocrat there went up from her a shout of defiance; and the response which she gave in fitting out a flying squadron, in accession and addition to her ordinary navy, was the best answer which she could give, and was an assurance to her Colonies and to the world at large that, if she was only a third-rate continental power, she was to-day, and would continue to be what she was in days of yore, at least mistress of the seas. As part of this great Empire, Canada, more than other part, is open to attack. With thousands of miles of coterminous frontier, and divided from the United States only by an invisible line, with many international questions existing calculated to cause bitterness and strife, it becomes doubly our duty so to comport ourselves that we will lessen and not increase Great Britain's difficulties. The recent troubles have accentuated our determination to remain part and parcel of the Empire. The splendid dream of an Imperial Federation which my hon. friend has sometimes presented to the House has never yet presented itself in such a practical shape to the people of Great Britain, or to the people of the Colonies, as to have claimed their allegiance. The sentiment which underlies that scheme is such as to have commanded their sympathy, not only in the British Isles, but in every Colony of the British Empire. We desire to unite more closely and firmly the different parts of the Empire. We may not have at present, and, so far as I can see, there is not at present, any logical scheme ready; but in the lumbering and blundering way in which old John Bull goes on, and is going on, I have no doubt that we will succeed, and that events themselves will evolve some scheme by which the Empire will be more closely united together.

Sir, the resolution which we are asked to pass, the national pledge which we are asked to give here, as representatives of the people, is a small step, perhaps, but it is one step, at least, in that direction. The resolution reiterates our desire to maintain the most friendly relations with our kinsmen of the United States. I believe that desire, sir, to be universal in Canada. Commercially and socially, our relations are intertwined and united, and are becoming yearly more so. We look across the frontier, the invisible line, at the greatest republic the world has ever seen, and we see that great republic grappling with some of the greatest problems that ever a people have had to face. We see them grappling with the great problem of how to cement and unite forty-two commonwealths into one great republic welded into a harmonious whole, which, while guaranteeing State rights and individual liberty, will not be inconsistent with national power and greatness. We see them trying to solve the mighty problem how to assimilate and to make worthy citizens of the myriads of foreigners who have for the past fifty years found an asylum within her borders. We see her trying to solve the problem of what to do with the eight millions of coloured people who, released from slavery, are now her citizens. In these and other attempted solutions of mighty problems we wish her God-speed. But I re-echo the statement made by the hon. gentleman who moved the resolution, that while we have every sympathy with them, and while we wish them well, we do not desire to take any part in the solution of those problems from a political standpoint. Largely speaking the same language, largely drawing inspiration from the same sources, and worshipping at the same altars, I believe in the sentiment expressed the other day by a senator of the United States that, after all, blood is thicker than water, and that the man or the nation who precipitates a war and all its horrors between these two great English-speaking nations would be committing a crime against humanity.

As for Canada, we have our own problems to solve, our own difficulties to meet, and we propose to solve them and to meet them as part of the Empire, and under the protection of the Empire's flag. Now, sir, Canada can assist Great Britain in two ways. We can assist her with means and with money, and, perhaps, compared with the amount of means and money which Great Britain requires for her defences, our contribution would be only a drop in the bucket, but, at any rate, the feeling with which that contribution would be made, would make up, possibly, for the amount. But, above all, we can assist her in the cultivation of the kindest feelings between us and the great republic lying to the south of us. An alliance between Great Britain and the United States would be the guarantee of the world's peace; no nation and no combination of nations is strong enough to withstand a union between the greatest Empire in the world and the greatest Republic in the world. I re-echo the words lately spoken at Bristol by the Right Hon. J. A. Balfour, when he said:

“ He felt that England and the United States should work together, each in its own sphere, to promote and extend the Anglo-Saxon ideas of liberty. If, he declared, Great Britain was in alliance with the United States, she could fulfil the duties Providence had entrusted to her, and need not fear a foreign foe or international divisions ”

These, Mr. Speaker, are noble words, and they have found a worthy echo during the late troubles from many of the most distinguished statesmen, orators, and speakers, of the United States. That the two great nations may grow in harmony and goodwill to each other is our earnest hope, and every Canadian who helps forward such a blessed consummation makes a substantial and national offering to the Empire.

Mr. COCKBURN: Mr. Speaker, I have listened with great pleasure to the eloquent addresses on the resolution before the House, and it is a source of unalloyed pleasure to find that there is one platform at least on which both parties in Canada unite, and sink for the time the bitterness of party politics. Out of evil good often comes, and the menace of troubles hanging over the British Empire of late has stimulated the sentiment of loyalty to the Mother Country and strengthened still more the ties that unite us to the Empire and to our brother colonists. It has practically within the last few weeks consummated the union of federated Australia, and but a few days ago New South Wales voted \$50,000 annually for three years to subsidise the Canadian-Australian line by which the ties that bind us to our brethren in Australia may be continued and drawn still more closely. At the same time we find here in our Dominion a desire, which has been even strengthened by recent events, to connect ourselves with our brother colonists by new fast steamship lines and also by the Pacific cable. In South Africa, which has her own problems of pressing moment to solve, and has to deal with questions that we dealt with perhaps two generations ago, the pulse beats in unison with the pulse of the Canadian and Australian Colonies. While we have had wars and rumours of wars to excite us, it has been to me a source of honest pride to find that the Canadian press has risen fully to the occasion, and that, while our neighbours to the south may have indulged in language which I think was unsuited to the circumstances, our Canadian press has conducted itself in a way that was in every sense becoming of the gravity of the occasion. There has been a full sense of the gravity of the situation, and men have knitted their lips tightly and their cheeks have perhaps blanched, but not through craven fear, but through stern realisation of the gravity of the duties which were being imposed on them, and which, with God's help, they intended to fulfil. But though we have, so to speak, taken our lives in our hands, we have never been wavering or halting in our allegiance to the motherland. We have not sat down and weighed the consequences, materially and otherwise, and said that under certain circumstances we would be prepared to join the powerful nation of 70,000,000 to the south. Such a course seems never to have entered the Canadian mind, and I feel proud to-day in this public manner to draw attention to the fact, which does honour to the whole of the Dominion. I regret deeply that, while England and Canada now entertain the most kindly feeling towards the United States, the same kindly feeling has not been universally reciprocated. They are no doubt peoples whose national roots go down deep into the same past as our own; we draw from the fountain of the same literature; we have the same science, the same arts, the same language; we worship, as the hon. member for Queen's [County] (Mr. Davies) has eloquently said, at the same altars; our institutions are to a great extent similar, and it would become us, one would think, to rise to the conception of a higher patriotism. We have the domestic patriotism of the Scotchman for Scotland, of the Englishman for England, of the Irishman for Ireland, and the Canadian for Canada, and we have an Imperial patriotism for the Imperial Empire; and I trust that, as time goes by, as the years roll on, that feeling which now separates the United States from us will become less and less intense, and they will at length appreciate the fact that we glory in their success and in their progress, just as a grandfather may glory in the progress of his grandson. But I fear perhaps the bitterness, I might almost say, were it parliamentary, the political animosity, the bitter animosity of political life here, the aspersions cast on political parties, and both sides are equally guilty of the same fault, the fact that our politics assume so severe and stern and partisan a character has led many people in the United States to believe that we are not one people, one Dominion, that we are not satisfied with our condition, that we are ready to open our arms and welcome them. And it was this same opinion that in the Fenian raid, as we know, brought many a man over to Canada with the expectation that when he landed in our country, instead of being received at the bayonet point, he would be welcomed to our homes and regarded as a friend. I trust we will endeavour to conduct our debates in such a way that when reported they will cease to give foreign nations the opinion that we are divided. For we are not divided. We have our differences politically, we have our party differences in regard to the tariff, and these differences seem to be growing less and less, new light is coming in on our friends opposite, and they are enlarging to some extent their views, and coming more and

more over to ours. and no doubt with the advance of years they will come nearer and nearer to the common platform, and then we shall be happy to receive them into our midst I am glad, too, that the hon. member for North Bruce has so strongly declared that we desire no war with the United States. It would, indeed, be a horrible monstrosity to contemplate. But the feeling of unkindness, to use no stronger term, does exist largely in the United States, and we found during the recent troubles that there were, I think, but two Governors of the States which did not profess allegiance to the mad declaration of the Monroe doctrine promulgated by the President Six large vessels of war, to cost \$24,000,000, were at once ordered, other ships of war were also ordered, and 25 torpedo vessels were to sweep the ocean. Every pinchbeck politician was ready to back up the President, and the voice of the rabble with their asinine bray could not be drowned in the discussion, and everything was done to support the wretched caricature of the Monroe doctrine I trust when this resolution of Parliament becomes known it will be felt that we have here once for all determined at all hazards to throw in our lot with the Mother Country, that we have no desire to change our allegiance politically, or commercially even, that we desire to live peaceably on this northern part of the American continent, and that we intend as British subjects to live, and as British subjects to die.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT: Mr. Speaker, I desire also to say a word or two on this subject. I am not myself in the habit of advocating loud professions of loyalty, nor do I believe to any very great extent in those loud professions of loyalty. But there is a time for all things, and I am of opinion that now is a very proper time indeed for some such expression as my hon. friend the member for North Bruce (Mr McNeill) proposes to place on our Journals. Sir I do not mean to say there is at the present moment danger of war with the United States, but I do mean to say that under very slightly different conditions there might have been real danger in such a message as was recently delivered by President Cleveland had it been received in England in the same tone and temper as that in which it was conceived. And, sir, therefore, I agree with several of the speakers who have preceded me, in highly commending the temper in which the press and the people of Canada, as a whole, received that threat, for it amounted to no less than a threat in the way in which it was delivered I hope, as the member for Toronto (Mr. Cockburn) has said, that we will hear the last of these idle and foolish aspersions, thrown by one political party in this country on the loyalty of the other I trust that will be the case It will tend to harmony, although on this side of the House we are not in the slightest degree disposed to hesitate at entering into a comparison of loyalty if that be the desire of hon gentlemen Now, sir, on the present occasion, I beg to say that I speak for myself alone, and that it would be most unfair to hold any other person on this side of the House, or anywhere else, responsible for anything that I have to say on this question. For my part, I have not hesitated to say elsewhere, and I do not hesitate to repeat here, that to a very great extent the choice for Canada lies between these two alternatives as Canada is placed between England and the United States, Canada will either have to be a hostage for the good behaviour of England to the United States, or Canada will have to be a bond of union between those two countries Which is the more honourable distinction? Which is the one more likely to promote our self-respect; which is the one more likely to promote the real welfare of Canada, I leave without hesitation for the people of Canada to decide It is perfectly true, as my hon friend (Mr Cockburn) said that out of evil (often) comes good, and I believe on the present occasion, very great good indeed—although it may sound a paradox—is likely to arise from President Cleveland's message, in the first place, and from the somewhat petulant defiance of the German Emperor in the second. Sir, that last message, if it has done nothing else, has shown England where she stood, and while I feel that there may be truth in the statement made by the Finance Minister on the one side, and in the statement made by myself on the other, I propose to treat my hon friend (Mr. Foster) to a compromise, and we shall say in future, not that England stands in a state of splendid isolation, or of dangerous isolation, but that England stands in a state of splendid but dangerous isolation. I believe that would pretty nearly define the actual state of the case But whatever may be the truth as to that, there is no doubt either as to this, that the spirit and pluck with which that haughty message was received has extorted unwilling admiration even from those who formerly were most disposed to disparage England, and has shown as few other things could have shown, the great vitality and resource which the British Empire undoubtedly possesses Sir, I agree with the member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), I agree with my hon friend (Mr Davies) beside me, that the mode in which that message was

received has filled all Englishmen, whether they be in Canada, or Australia, or the Cape, or in England itself, with just and honest pride. And, sir, it has gone very far to justify the old-time boast that England is still, in spite of all that has come and gone, the mistress of the seas. It is not by any means an insignificant exact fact at this present moment, that among other things that display of strength and power called forth was (although, perhaps, an unwilling) very decided appreciation and admiration on the part of our neighbours to the south of us; and that even from those who were most disposed in former times to cast ridicule on the pretensions of England. As for Mr Cleveland's message, I say, and I believe, that if we could get at his inmost sentiments we would find that he now also believes that the tone and temper of his message was most unfortunate, and very greatly to be regretted by all. But, sir, while that is true, the results which straightway followed on that message have tended a very great deal, after all said and done, to pave the way for a better understanding and more permanent peace between the two countries. For, if there be one thing more certain than another, it is this: that that same message, and the results of that same message, brought infinitely greater ruin in American homes than it did in English homes. The United States now know two things which I doubt whether they understood thoroughly before. They know, in the first place, to what an extraordinary and close extent the interests of England and the United States are intertwined in a thousand ways. And they know further, what they did not fully understand before, the tremendous cost to them, as well, perhaps, the tremendous cost to us, which would be entailed in a war with England. Why, sir, the mere name and sound of war (if Mr. Depew is an authority, as I believe he is) cost the United States in a week one thousand millions of dollars in depreciation of their securities, and I have strong reason to believe that Mr. Depew did not exaggerate one particle the mischief that had been done. Sir, among others, I had my attention lately called to three very remarkable testimonies to the present position of affairs from three Americans, of more or less note. First of all, I observe that the American commander-in-chief, General Miles, had the manliness and the courage, in a public place, to tell his hearers that, whatever else the United States might be able to do, or might not be able to do, they were at present utterly defenceless in the face of even a second-rate naval power, as regards the defences of their sea coast. At the same time Mr. Depew, who is a man well known and highly esteemed in most portions of the United States, pointed out with equal force that it was a most unfortunate extension of the Monroe doctrine if the United States were going to make themselves the protectors of every little petty despot in the southern hemisphere, and hold themselves responsible for every act of oppression or injustice he might commit on the subjects of any European power. And Mr. Depew took occasion, and with reason, to warn his hearers that no good result could come from such exorbitant pretensions. Sir, I might give, if I pleased, many and many a testimony from the better and more thoughtful writers of the United States, all going to show that the sensible portion of the United States—whatever the jingo element among them might think—have at last woken up, as they have never awakened before, to the tremendous consequences which would most undoubtedly follow a collision, should such a collision unhappily ever occur, between the two great Anglo-Saxon nations. Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a word or two as to our share in Canada in this matter. There has been enough in this thing to make us reflect, although the war scare so-called lasted but a few days. It would not have been any light matter if we found ourselves suddenly dragged into war, and we might have been dragged into war, by reason of a quarrel over a few acres of bog in South America, with which we had no sort of concern. Sir, what I claim for Canada, what I have always claimed for Canada, and what I think, on calm consideration, all true Canadians will claim for Canada, is this: We do not claim a sole voice, of course, but I think that we have a right to claim co-equal voice in all things appertaining to affairs in North America; and, after recent events, I am not sure I should not say, in South America, too. That is a claim which I have advanced here, which I have advanced in England, which I have advanced on the platform, and which I propose to maintain. I claim it not as a favour, but as a right. Let me say to this House that rights and duties are strictly coterminous. Every man who has a right, has a duty to perform, and every man who has a duty to perform has a consequent right. Now, sir, it is five and twenty years since Great Britain, to all intents and purposes, devolved upon the people of Canada the responsibility and the duty not only of maintaining peace and good order in the northern half of North America but of defending it against all comers. Five and twenty years ago England withdrew all her garrisons from British North America, with the single exception of the Naval station

at Halifax, which hardly counts in the scale; I think it is the only place to-day in British North America where Great Britain maintains a garrison. Sir, we accept that responsibility. We are willing to maintain peace and good order in this northern half of the continent; we are willing to defend it, please Providence, against all comers to the best of our ability; but, hand in hand with that responsibility goes the right to a free hand, in this hemisphere at least. All other risks the people of Canada are ready to face, if not with a light heart, at least with a cheerful heart; and if Great Britain found Russia, France, Germany, or the whole continent of Europe, arrayed against her, and if the fleets of the combined Powers, as they possibly might, were to threaten our territory, I have no doubt, for my part, that Canada would gird herself, and gird herself well, to meet any emergency that might arise. Sir, there is but one foe, that is, the possible foe of the south, with whom we might undoubtedly hesitate to enter into a conflict, and for no unworthy reasons. English statesmen talk of fratricidal war with the United States. I will not say that that is a mere phrase in their mouths; but while they talk about fratricidal war we know that such a war would be a fratricidal war. There has been an enormous alteration in the Dominion of Canada within the last thirty years, as anyone who has watched the movement of our population knows. I believe that I am strictly in the right when I say that at this moment there is scarcely one family in ten in the Dominion of Canada which has not a son or a brother or a near relative in some part of the United States. It is literally true, and it is well that our friends on both sides of the House should remember it, that Canada and the Northern States, at any rate, are more closely knit together in a great many ways than the North and the South were before the war. Now I am not going to enter into a disquisition on the military aspects of the question, although time was, not long ago, when I might have said something as to that. But there are two plain truths which it is well that we should bear in mind, and which, if General Miles could afford to tell his countrymen the truth, we can afford to tell ours. One of these plain truths is that, by no fault of the people of Canada, this Dominion is one of the most defenceless countries on the face of the earth—at any rate, from Maine to the Rocky Mountains. The corollary of that is that the United States, along its sea-coasts, from Maine to New Orleans and from San Francisco to Oregon, is likewise one of the most defenceless countries on the face of the earth, and if it were possible that our neighbours to the south should carry fire and sword to every town in Canada, it is equally true that the British fleet could lay in ashes every city on the seaboard of the United States. If it did so it might destroy tens of thousands of millions of property held by Americans, but it would also destroy a proportionate amount of property held by British subjects living in England. The truth is that England and the United States could do infinite harm to each other; but I trust, and I think everybody will trust, that means may be found whereby England and the United States may be prevented from ever again meeting in hostile collision. Why is it that Canada is so hard to defend from an enemy coming from the south? I have ventured to say elsewhere more than once what the reason for that is. I have ventured to point out that if Canada be defenceless, as it is to a great extent, against an enemy coming from the south, it is due to no fault of the people of Canada, least of all of the founders of Canada. It is due simply to what the late Lord Charles Beresford described as the "savage stupidity" of 1774 and 1776, when a lot of miserable incapables annihilated the Empire which the genius of the elder Pitt had created. If hon. gentlemen want to know why Canada is so defenceless, they cannot do better than cast their eyes over pages 4 and 5 of a pamphlet, which was recently sent to me, on "Canada and Her Relations to the Empire" under the authorship of Colonel G. T. Denison—not our friend, whom I am sorry not to see here, but I believe a brother of his. Now, it is not my purpose to-day to review the series of negotiations dating back over 120 years, from the Treaty of Paris down to the present day, in which our sharp-witted neighbours to the south got the better of English statesmen and English diplomatists; but I venture to say that there was one negotiation in which they did not get the better, and that was because the negotiation on the British side was conducted solely by Canadian diplomatists, Canadian lawyers, and Canadian statesmen. Sir, in my opinion, the true attitude for the people of Canada, now as always, is the attitude of a people who are loyal but not subservient—a people who know their rights, and will assert and demand them. If there be anything which a true Briton despises, it is, in the first place, anything that savours of flunkeyism and gush, and, I may add, anything that savours of unworthy jingoism. Our history has not many traditions, but it has one valuable tradition that redeems it—that is, the tradition of the settlement of Canada, or a large part of it, by the United Empire Loyalists. How they were treated by the British Government it is not my

purpose to enlarge upon to-day. I will merely say that that page in our history has not a correspondingly glorious page in British history. But, sir, while I desire and my friends desire, so long as we are a part of the British Empire, to do our duty to the utmost, while we are prepared to shrink from no proper sacrifice for the purpose of assisting the Empire to the best of our means, yet, as a Canadian, I take leave to tell the House and the country that it is not a question of obligation between Canada and the Empire; or if there be any obligation, the obligation is by no means confined to one side. Great Britain is the greatest colonising power on the face of the earth. How many hundred colonies she possesses I hardly dare say. She has acquired colonies in every possible way—colonies by conquest, colonies by inheritance, colonies by purchase, colonies by exchange, colonies founded by her sons who left her shores to obtain religious liberty, and colonies founded by others who left her shores to benefit their positions; but among her hundred colonies she has but one which was founded and created by men who did not leave the shores of England to benefit themselves, but who gave up all they had for the purpose of maintaining their loyalty to England—and the name of that colony is Canada. Nevertheless, sir, although it be largely by England's own fault, it must be confessed that, as regards the United States, Canada is a weak spot in the British armour. There can be no doubt that we are liable to a sudden attack by a foe from the south, and there is no doubt that it would tax all our resources and the resources of the British Empire to effectively defend this country against such an attack. As to the quarrel with Venezuela, if I were to give my opinion, it would be closely akin to that of Prince Bismarck with reference to certain difficulties on the eastern frontier, when he declared that he would not be willing to sacrifice a single Pomeranian grenadier for the sake of all the Turks in Europe and Asia put together; and for my part, I think it would be a thousand pities were a single drop of Anglo-Saxon blood shed for the sake of all those murderous man-monkeys in South America. What they do is to have a revolution and a massacre every half-year, and the only possible chance of their living in peace is for some strong tyrant like General Rosas or Dr. Francia to keep them in due subjection at the point of the bayonet. Sir, my counsel in this matter is this, and it is a counsel which I am beginning to hope and think may possibly be realised one of these days. I hope that if anything is to come of the scheme of Imperial Federation, so dear to our hon. friends opposite, it must come in one shape or another after and not before some such thing as I am about to suggest has been put into practical effect. I referred just now to a certain speech of Mr. Depew. I am not going to say that we have nothing to complain of in the Americans and that the Americans have nothing to complain of in us. My own impression is that, as is usually the case, there are faults enough on both sides. We cannot see those of our own, but we can those of the United States. But I hold that when Mr. Depew proposed, as I see he did, in a recent speech that a common tribunal should be established, a tribunal before which the English-speaking nations, at any rate, might adjust all their differences in a rational and reasonable way, Mr. Depew did really suggest, whether the time has come for carrying out his suggestion or not, what would be the best outcome and solution of all these difficulties with which we have been confronted in Canada, not now only, but for the past nine or ten years. Sir, I think that the events of the last month have brought that idea of a common tribunal within measurable range of the region of practical politics, and I believe that the people of Canada, the journalists of Canada, the public men of Canada, have it in their power, in no insignificant degree, to contribute in bringing about such a result. Sir, my experience, and I dare say the experience of others here, is that, after all, men are to a very great extent what you make them; and although we are a long way from the golden rule, yet the chances are that men will deal with you as you deal with them. In this matter, I may say, that if there be anything in our traditions, if there be anything in the fact that we are here representing to a great extent the traditions of the U. E. Loyalists, those men will best represent the idea which underlay the sacrifices made by the U. E. Loyalists, who aid and assist in promoting and restoring in any other way the object which they aimed at, which was not by any manner of means to prevent the British Government of the day to levy taxes, without representation, on the Americans. I have reason to know that the U. E. Loyalists took no stock in that idea, but their object was to preserve together the British Empire which had been acquired at such loss and sacrifice and with such danger, within a very recent period, to their fathers and themselves. Sir, I cannot stop now—the theme would be large and too great—to contemplate the spectacle of what would be the results of an alliance between 140,000 of English people. All I can say is



thus, that if such an alliance—and I do not hope, of course, for any restoration of common government, or desire it—but if any alliance could be formed or tribunal established which would put a stop, practically at once and for ever, to all fear of hostility between those countries, then I say that a very great security would be given to the peace and welfare of the world at large and to the future progress of the world at large. And I believe, like my hon friend, [that the statesmen, the journalists, and all men who can aid and help, and who do aid and help, in promoting that, will render the greatest service that can be rendered to Canada in the first place, and the British Empire at large, in the second place

Mr. CRAIG: This resolution is one which must commend itself to the whole House. I have listened with great pleasure to the speech of the mover and have no doubt that his sentiments are shared by every hon. gentleman who has listened to his remarks. If there is one thing that does not need proof it is the loyalty of Canadians. That is a thing which we take for granted, and yet this resolution is very timely, for this reason. Canada occupies a very peculiar position. Lying alongside the great republic, it may be thought at times by people not familiar with Canadians, by people living in the Empire, that we may have thoughts of living in union with the republic. But this resolution is not only timely, as assuring people of the Empire that Canada is indeed loyal and proud of its connexion with such a great Empire—proud of being a part, and no small part, of such an Empire, but it is also timely as regards the people of the United States. A great many people in the United States have the idea—and it is almost impossible to get that idea out of their heads—that many people in Canada desire annexation. In my sojourn in the United States a few years ago, I found that the people there thought it a ridiculous idea that Canadians should not desire annexation. They asked, How is it that a small country like Canada does not desire to be annexed to the States? I told them that there was no such desire, that we were satisfied to remain as we are. This opinion in the United States arises from a misconception of our position. They look on Canada as a small country, one of the dependencies of Great Britain, they have the idea that we occupy a very inferior position; they know little about our position and the relation in which we stand to the Empire, and I am glad to-day to have the opportunity of supporting a resolution like this, which will show to the people of the United States that all the people of this country are loyal to the Empire. It will show them that this feeling is not confined to one party or one section, but that both the great parties of this country and all sections of it are one in loyalty to the Empire. I think that sometimes a mistake is made in accusing any party in this country of disloyalty, because the people of the United States, when they see such statements, imagine that they are true, that there is something in them. Whereas on the contrary, those who make such statements make them perhaps for political purposes, knowing that those whom they accuse of disloyalty would be, if the occasion should arise, as capable of proving their loyalty as those who make the charge. I have travelled all over the country, and am glad to say there is no annexation sentiment in it. You might find one man in, perhaps, one hundred thousand who might think that union with the United States would be an improvement, but that is about all you would find. The people generally, in every part of the country, are satisfied with their position. They are satisfied to be a part, and, as I said before, no small part, of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen. The people of the United States, therefore, may dismiss the idea from their minds that any section of this country has any desire at all for annexation with the United States; but while I say that, I advocate very strongly, as I did in this House some two or three years ago, the most friendly relations with the United States. I said then, as I say now, that they have a people whom it is most difficult to govern. They have a population made up of a great many different nationalities. They find it almost impossible to please them all, and sometimes their rulers and those in authority do things which they would not do unless impelled, as they think, by political reasons. I hope and I believe that the late message of President Cleveland was inspired almost altogether by political considerations. I think he felt that he had to do something in that line, and took this means of making himself popular. In some respects that message was not an unfortunate thing for this country. In some respects that message was fortunate, because it showed the people of the United States that Canadians are united. It showed Canadians, at the same time, that while there were some Americans who had feelings of hostility to Canada, the great bulk of the people of the United States—and the best part of the people—had the most friendly feelings to Canada; and although some have held other opinions, I was pleased to see that some of the most influential papers in the United States

expressed the most friendly feeling to Canada and the utmost abhorrence of having any war which would imply an attack on Canada. They took the right view of the situation; and I was pleased, at the same time, to see that some of the party men, at the very outset, when in so doing they exposed themselves to unpopularity, took the strong stand that the United States were not right in their contention, but, on the contrary, had overstepped the mark. I believe in the most friendly relations with the United States, and I think I may say here that our newspapers can do a great deal to strengthen those relations. I have, as we all have, a great respect for the power of the press. As a rule our newspapers commend themselves to all who read them; but sometimes it is possible that paragraphs may appear which should not appear, paragraphs tending to show that we have some feeling of enmity towards the United States. Sir, I hold that, while there is no annexation sentiment in this country, yet, from one end of the country to the other, there is the most friendly feeling towards the American Union and its people. As was well said by the last speaker, there are few families in this country but have a son or a brother in the United States. Speaking for myself, I have a son there, and that fact does not make me feel less friendly to that country. He had to go there for his health; I would rather he could live in this country, but he is there, he has friends there, and among the people of that country are many who have befriended him. I have, as we all have, many friends in the United States; but above all, the hundreds of thousands of Canadians that are scattered throughout the country are our brothers, not only in name but in reality. I would advocate as strongly as I can that nothing be done to impair the friendly relations between these two countries. It would be a terrible thing if any war between us should arise. We cannot imagine the ruin which such a calamity would bring upon this country and upon that as well. But, sir, I have no fear of war. I think a remark made by the present Minister of Justice (Mr. Dickey), who at that time occupied the position of Minister of Militia, was a most sensible remark. When asked about the defences of Canada, he said that the best defence of Canada is the "good sense of the people of the United States." I think the people of the United States have been reflecting, and they are reflecting to day; and that they realise that they have no desire for war, and that Canada is a country perfectly friendly to them. Not only that, but our business relations are immense. Most of us are doing business with the United States, and the great commerce between us brings about most friendly feelings. I trust that nothing will be said by the newspapers, or by members of this House, or by those outside, which will in any way disturb our present friendly relations. On this continent there is plenty of room for two great nations. It is true that at present Canada has a population of only about 5,000,000, but we have room for many millions more, and I hope that I shall see the time when we shall have twenty millions. I hope and I believe that these two nations will go on rivalling each other, not in war, but in commerce and in the arts of peace. I have great pleasure, Mr. Speaker, in advocating this resolution, which expresses my sentiments most fully, and I congratulate the mover upon introducing it to the House.

Mr. CASEY: I, too, must congratulate the mover of this resolution upon his good fortune in being the one to evoke the expression of an opinion that is evidently unanimous in this House; and I beg leave to add my small contribution to the expression of that opinion. The hon gentleman's resolution deals with the question in three or four phases. It refers first to the threatening aspect of foreign affairs so far as Great Britain is concerned. There is no doubt that the foreign affairs of Great Britain have, within a late period, assumed a somewhat threatening aspect. I think the reason for that is not far to seek. It is not aggression on the part of Great Britain that has aroused a certain amount of suspicion among her neighbours, it is not any wrong that she has committed against other nations. The great and evergrowing progress of Great Britain has created this feeling. I claim that the feeling of other nations towards Great Britain at the moment—and I hope and believe that it is only a temporary feeling—is aroused more by jealousy of her great success in commerce, in colonisation and in enterprise of all kinds, than by any fault on the part of the Mother Country herself. It is to be expected that this feeling should be manifested for the moment; but it is to be expected also that further consideration will remove that feeling, and that the relations of Great Britain with other countries may be, again, as cordial as they have been in the past. One great consideration alone, it seems to me, should be sufficient to allay this feeling of jealousy, and it is this—that the progress of Great Britain has always been in the past, is in the present, and always will be in the future, the progress of humanity.



In every period of her history, when Great Britain has made a step in advance with her commerce or her colonisation, it has meant that humanity, as a whole, is better off. It has meant an increase of the means of subsistence, the cultivation of more land, the development of means of intercourse between different parts of the world. Britain's flag has been the pioneer of progress and the pioneer of development wherever it has gone. And I am sure that when this is fully realised throughout the world, the temporary jealousy of her success must give way to the feeling that all other nations share more or less directly in the prosperity of that great country.

In spite of the fact referred to as the threatening aspect of foreign affairs in this resolution, I do not feel inclined to adopt the phrase "splendid isolation" as descriptive of Britain's position. That phrase has acquired a certain popularity, and, *prima facie*, it may have appeared the proper phrase to describe Great Britain's position. But I feel that Great Britain is no more isolated in the present juncture of affairs than is the mother of a great family of grown-up children. Great Britain can never be isolated so long as the family tie is maintained between her and the great communities that have sprung from her. I believe that tie is now stronger than it ever was before, and that it will become stronger still in consequence of the temporary feeling against Great Britain which has now arisen. In view of that fact I deprecate the use of the phrase "splendid isolation." I would prefer to substitute for it some phrase, which I am not eloquent enough to coin at the moment, descriptive of a united family supporting the head of that family under all circumstances.

Now, sir, the resolution, in the second place, voices the unalterable loyalty and devotion of this country to the British Throne and Constitution. That phrase, I think, is perfectly correct. There is no doubt of the loyalty of all those who inhabit Canada at the present time. In the discussion of this question, it would be beneath the occasion to attempt to prove that one political party in the country, as compared with another, is equally loyal or more loyal. I do not think anyone in this House ever believed for a moment that there was a difference on that point. I wish, however, to refer briefly to the different races which inhabit Canada, and to the reasons why they are, as such, loyal to the Mother Country.

The largest proportion of the people are of the British races, from the British Isles. Their loyalty is as undoubted here as it was in their native land. Even the race to which I have the honour to belong myself, the noble residents of the ever-green isle, are found in Canada as loyal as anybody else, and a little more so. The Irishman, when he becomes a full citizen of the Empire, with all the privileges and rights of every other citizen, is just as loyal as any other citizen, and has always been. No matter how he was disaffected towards the particular methods of government in the Mother Country, he has always been ready to shed his blood for the Empire at home.

The next in number of the great strains of blood in Canada, although first in colonisation, is that race with which we are so proud to be associated, our cousins from France. I say our cousins from France, because, in the course of centuries, what with the Norman conquest of England, the interchange of settlement between the two countries, the mixture that has taken place in Canada, we cannot affect to consider our fellow-citizens of the French race otherwise than as relatives at the present time. I claim that there is no such thing, or should be no such thing, as a racial problem, or a racial difference, between the people of Canada. This country was first discovered, first practically made use of, by our French friends and relatives. They showed their very good ability to look after this country, and to maintain their hold upon it. In the course of events they have acknowledged the sovereignty of the Empire, established by one of their own Norman race, in the first instance.

I say, sir, there is no racial difference between people so situated. The cry of the aggrieved in all parts of the British Empire to day, as it is still in the Channel Islands, and was in Normandy, is virtually a cry of "Hâ Rou," the cry to Rollo, when any one is doing them harm. And if there were occasion to display their valour in the field in defence of this country, the cry of "St. George for England," and that of "En avant la Normandie," would be heard side by side. Sir, the other race who form an important portion in our population is the Germans, especially in the western part of the province of Ontario, and in certain parts of Nova Scotia. These Germans, some of them born in the old fatherland, and some of them born here, have all adopted Canada as their country; and it goes without saying that the devotion of the Germans to their fatherland, on the field or in other circumstances, equals that of any other race. Our Germans will show the same valour in defending Canada as they have always shown in defending the old land in Europe.

From all this I conclude that there is nothing whatever amongst the people of Canada to divide us in the expression of an unalterable loyalty to the Throne and Constitution of Great Britain. Examples of that could be given, but this is not an occasion for wasting time in long-winded descriptions of what everybody knows. I pass to that branch of the resolution which speaks of the substantial sacrifices by which we would be ready to attest our loyalty. There is no doubt on that point either, Mr. Speaker; substantial sacrifices would be made by Canada, and, I believe, by all other off-shoots of Great Britain, to defend that country or their sister dependencies against aggression. Solidity against aggression is, I believe, the present condition of the British Empire, and the only condition which is capable of maintaining its integrity in the future.

I have great hopes that out of the present circumstances, the uneasy feeling in Great Britain, the discussion of the relations between her and her family, may come to something like that for which many have hoped for many years back; I mean to say, something more than a nominal union of this great British Empire. I do not wish to commit myself to any special plan of Imperial federation, or customs union, or differential duties, or anything of that kind; but I do hope to see the day when every British subject, no matter where located, shall be a full citizen of that Empire, with the rights and duties of such citizens.

This branch of the question leads us to consider our relations with the United States, as is done in the last clause of the resolution. What those relations should be has been well pointed out already. By connexion of blood, by geographical position, by long tradition, we ought to be the closest friends in the world; but it often happens that those who are the most nearly related by blood, the most contiguous to each other, are not always on the very best of terms, or, at least, are not so at all times. I am in great hopes, however, that the present state of irritation existing—not in Canada, for it does not exist here, but existing on the other side of the line, towards Canada—may be only of a nature of a lovers' quarrel, or a quarrel between near relatives, which will soon be composed by more serious considerations. I am sure that will be the case, as long as the better elements in the great republic to the south of us hold the upper hand.

The only possible danger that can arise, will come from the sudden effervescence of the lower elements in that country, leading them to acts which would necessarily bring about a war. It is to be hoped that the good sense of the many will keep the turbulent few in subjection, and avoid that danger.

With that great nation, related to us, as the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig) has pointed out, directly by blood, in many cases, indirectly by blood to all of us—with that great nation, I say we should endeavour to the utmost of our ability, to preserve good relations at all times; to preserve those relations of commerce which are the surest methods of bringing about personal and national good feeling; to preserve those diplomatic relations which are consistent with continued respect for each other, and to preserve those personal individual relations which lie at the root of all broader relations. I should even have great hopes of seeing some realisation of that great future alluded to by my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Davies), some sort of union for purposes of peace and progress between all English-speaking countries. I should be very glad to see that union between the greatest Empire and the greatest Republic on earth, to which that hon. gentleman has referred.

Our position, in the meantime, must be one which will give no studied offence to that or any other neighbour, and which will leave it still open for us to realise such high possibilities, and our actions should be directed towards converting those possibilities into actual facts. I hope the present discussion will do something towards that great end, and I am sure honour will be reflected on the House by the way in which it has treated the subject.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN: Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to see this debate close without a word being said by a member from the province of Quebec and of my origin. I do not suppose that it is necessary to speak of our loyalty to the Queen of England and to the Empire. Ever since this Canada of ours became a dependency of Great Britain, whenever the necessities of our position called upon us to come forward and do our duty as British subjects, we were not behind; we never refused to do our duty, but we did it cheerfully and cordially. At times the loyalty of the French-Canadians must have been tried very much. Only a few years after this country became a dependency of England, the Thirteen Colonies revolted and asserted their independence. At that time we were called upon to join them and help them against England, which had possession of the country, and against which the French of Canada had fought for years to maintain their allegiance to the King of France and remain a portion of France.

But the result of the appeal from the other side, not only from the Americans, or the revolted British subjects, but from the French commandant and generals then on the other side of the line, to come forward and join the standard of France, was that the offer was spurned and the French-Canadians stood by the standard of Great Britain. They shed their blood in defence of that flag, and, though they may have had difficulties in bringing their friends to the convictions they held at that moment, nevertheless, they did their duty, and that duty was performed again at later periods, as I shall show to the House. When this country, by the war of 1812, was threatened again by the United States, you did not see the French-Canadians turn their backs on the standard of Great Britain, but they fought for the liberties of England, for the liberties of Canada, and for the liberties of the world. Later on, again, when our great, gracious Queen ascended the Throne of England, the difficulties that had existed for several years in Canada on account of the manner in which this country was administered by officers and officials from England, came to a climax, you did not see the mass of the people take a position in antagonism to the established authorities. No doubt, they sympathised with those who were asking for their complete liberty, that liberty which was granted afterwards, and granted by England, and which we now enjoy, under which, while we enjoy the rule of Great Britain, we have responsible government here. Ever since that time, when we have been called upon as a race, as British subjects, to defend the British flag, you never saw the French refuse, any more than members of the other races, and they even left their province to go thousands of miles westward to re-establish the authority of England. I do not wish to make a speech, I am not prepared to do so; but it occurred to me that, on an occasion like this, at all events, a voice from the French-Canadian people might be heard, and that voice would say: We, a million-and-a-half of people in this country, having blood different from the other nationalities, worshipping at other altars than the majority of the inhabitants, having different ancestors from those of the large majority in this Dominion, join with the other race, join with our fellow-subjects, in declaring that Great Britain has not in the vast Empire more loyal subjects, more devoted subjects, than those of my race. I do not say that we are better than the other people in the Empire—we are satisfied if we are as good as they. I thank the House for the attention paid to me while saying these few words.

Sir JAMES GRANT. Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to detain the House by any lengthy observations, more especially after the address delivered by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), as well as the speech of the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). I have listened with a very great degree of pleasure to the able laconic observations that have fallen from both of those hon. gentlemen on the important subject presented to the House by the mover of the resolution, and it was with pleasure indeed that I listened to the few words uttered by one of the Nestors of the great French nationality in this country, an hon. gentleman who, I regret to say, is almost too silent. I was pleased beyond measure to have heard him address the House on the loyalty and patriotism of that great French nationality of which he is an ornament. We know well that in the history of this country the French nationality has worked with the Anglo-Saxon to build up in Canada that prosperity we are now enjoying. On every occasion where their assistance was required in the development of the resources of this country and in the protection of the rights and privileges of our people we always found the French people fighting with the Anglo-Saxon. Then again, the able address delivered by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) is proof, if proof were wanting, that to-day in Canada, whether Liberal or Conservative, whether French or English, and no matter on what side of politics we arrange ourselves, we live together as one people fully determined to protect the Empire. We are living at an important era in the history of this North American continent. At no time within the past century, have the clouds hovered so gloomily over us as within the past few months. It is a reassurance to see that the principles of peace are likely to prevail, and that there are indications of peace all along the line. Only a few days ago the Rt. Hon. Mr. Balfour, who occupies so important a position in the Government of Great Britain, addressing his electors at Manchester, said:

“I do not believe that public opinion on either side of the Atlantic or in Europe will permit the outbreak of a war whose end no man can foresee.”

This expression of opinion from a gentleman competent to judge of the doings of the nations of the world is a source of encouragement to the people here who are working

with all their power and ability to build up this portion of Her Majesty's Empire. There is another reason why we should be interested in the motion now before the House. Within a few months Her Majesty will have closed sixty years of her reign, and at no time in the history of this world has the Empire made greater progress than during that period. In every part of the world there have been evidences of advancing civilisation. What are we devoted to? Our Queen and our country, or rather the Empire of which we are a conspicuous part. We may ask what has this Empire, British in its surroundings and entirety, accomplished in the past sixty years, to cause such enthusiasm and admiration, not only by British subjects, but the world at large. In the marked advancement, there has been no grasping disposition, but merely the outgrowth of progressive revenue development contemporaneous with advancing civilisation. Since the Queen ascended the Throne, the "Thin Red Line" which marks the British territorial boundaries has extended very considerably. Since 1833, the acquisition in India, of Scindh, Punjab and Oudh and Upper Burma as well as the Shan States, have added to the Indian Empire fully 275,000 square miles of territory. In the same period the occupation of Aden, the administration of Hong-Kong, as well as considerable portions of North Borneo, have given to the Empire an additional 80,000 square miles, in fact a territory fully as large as Great Britain. When the Queen commenced her illustrious rule, England had in South Africa 100,000 square miles; at present she holds sway over 300,000 square miles, in this same region. The North American and Australian Colonies cover over 6,500,000 square miles of territory. When the Queen ascended the Throne, Canada had about 1,000,000 population. Now we have over 5,000,000 people. During this same period the progress of the Australian Colonies has been very marked indeed. In Australia in 1837 the population was about 175,000, to-day the population is fully 4,500,000, and only five years after Her Majesty ascended the Throne was self-government conferred on New South Wales. To-day the British Empire, embraces an area of fully 10,000,000 square miles, with a population of 350,000,000 of people. When we remember the position of Canada as a portion of that great Empire, should we not see that the motion of the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill) is well timed. It is the duty of as many hon. gentlemen as possible to express their opinions upon this resolution, because it will tell the world at large that we in Canada are determined to remain a portion of the British Empire. We have no desire to become annexed to the United States. We live in peace and prosperity and happiness here. When they were in trouble in their civil war, it is well known that thousands of our young men fought and fell on their battle-fields for the abolition of slavery, and for the extension of the principles of civilization. And, if the United States were in trouble again to-morrow, the people of Canada would be willing to assist them out of their difficulty. This resolution of the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill) will show the strong desire of our people that, come what may, we are ready to do our utmost to protect the best interests of the Empire. I again express the hope that the little cloud which hovers over us will pass away; and that when President Cleveland comes to a full appreciation of his manifesto, he will see that his course was irregular, and that there is no desire whatever on the part of Great Britain to grasp territories that belong to any other nation. Great Britain in the acquisition of her vast territories, in the extension of her powers, has merely taken what she was entitled to, and she merely wishes now to protect her Empire and to protect her own subjects. We are one people on this North American continent. We cultivate the same fields, and we promote the same principles of literature, science, and art. Let us advance in unity and peace. Canadians are working in the best interests of their own dominion, and we are at the same time glad to see the great American Republic occupy the high position she does among the nations of the world. We wish her every prosperity, and when Canadians are called upon, not one of us will be found wanting to rise as one man to protect the best interests of this country and to maintain that allegiance to the Crown which makes us one people in saying, God save our Queen.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Mr. Speaker, I had never supposed that Her Majesty the Queen or the British Government, or the British people, had any doubt in regard to the loyalty of the people of Canada. I am in full accord with almost all the sentiments that have been expressed in regard to this resolution to-day. I was more than pleased with the speeches of some hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. When I listened to the speeches of the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Cockburn), the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig), and others, it occurred to me that probably one of the objects of this resolution, the opportuneness of which has been referred to by hon. gentlemen on both sides, was to make it known to Her Majesty the Queen,

and to the British Government that many of the statements on the subject of loyalty made in the Conservative press and on public platforms by Conservative speakers were not true. These hon gentlemen may have thought that some impression might have been made on the minds of some members of the British Government by the misrepresentation that more than one-half of the Canadian people were disloyal to the Crown, and I suppose we are to accept the speeches made by hon. gentlemen opposite to-day as an apology to the Liberal party for that misrepresentation. We accept it gratefully, and if no other good came from this debate, it will, I trust, make them feel with us, as Canadians having a common interest in our country, that it was more than bad taste—that it was wicked and injurious to our country—that statements should have been made in the House, on the public platform, and in the press, which we all know were incorrect, and could only be made for petty partisan purposes. I have always thought it was to be regretted that such statements were made, and I hope that in the future, if hon gentlemen opposite who have spoken to-day are in earnest in what they say, we shall be relieved from hearing any public man trying to make political capital by repeating statements which he knows to be untrue, and by trying to disparage any one of our own people, no matter to what political party they may belong. I am fully in accord with the resolution and with the many loyal sentiments which have been expressed to-day, and good results may possibly come from the resolution and the many able speeches with which it has been supported.

**M<sub>1</sub>. FOSTER.** Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to ask the House to listen to me for five minutes on this resolution. I simply rise, lest, if no member of the Government said a word on the resolution, it might be thought or said by any one that we were not in sympathy with it. To correct that impression, and for that purpose alone, I rise. But while on my feet, I cannot but congratulate most heartily the mover of the resolution upon his speech. The matter of it was excellent, but the matter of it even was exceeded by its good taste. I do not think that any person on either side of this House, or any citizen of this or any other country, could find fault with the spirit of the hon. gentleman's address. I have also listened with a great deal of pleasure to most of the addresses delivered on the other side of the House as well as on our own side. I think the resolution is an opportune one. I think it will help to guide opinion in Canada itself. It will certainly help to inform public opinion in the United States and in Great Britain as well. It will tend to an increase of that warmth of interest, that feeling of common interest, which is all the time growing between Great Britain and her Colonies, and which, despite all obstacles and difficulties which may seem practically to be in the way, is tending continuously and strongly to a complete union of Great Britain and all her Colonies. I simply wish to make the statement of my accord and the accord of the Government with the resolution. It can do no harm, it must do a great deal of good, and it will be as agreeable to our own people as it will be to the people of Great Britain, to whom it especially goes.

**Mr. LAURIER:** Mr. Speaker, though this resolution meets with general acceptance from all sides, and though it requires no support on my part, I also beg to add a few words just to express my entire concurrence with it. I am glad to believe that at this moment, when this resolution comes up for debate, there is, perhaps, less urgency for it than there was one month ago, when it was first placed on the Order paper. At that time the sky was cloudy, now it seems brighter. At that time it looked as if England were on the verge of war, and would have to fight single-handed almost the whole world—as if she would have to face many enemies combined, both from quarters where she might expect to find foes, and also from quarters where she might have expected to find friends. At this time, I am glad to say, matters look better. It is true England was—as the Minister of Finance said on a former occasion—and is yet, isolated, whether splendidly isolated or dangerously isolated, I will not now debate; but, for my part, I think splendidly isolated, because this isolation of England comes from her superiority, and her superiority to-day seems to be manifest. Apart from the realm of letters and art—in which, in my humble judgment, France is her compeer, and even her superior—in everything that makes a people great, in colonising power, in trade and commerce, in all the higher arts of civilization, England not only excels all other nations of the modern world, but all nations in ancient history as well. She is isolated to-day; but we can remember that the present position of England, the degree of marvellous development she has attained, dates from the day when her fortunes seemed to be at the lowest ebb, that is, at the close of the American war in the last century. At that time, England had just lost her Colonial Empire, she had lost her American Colonies. The only Colonies left to her were a few isolated spots

here and there, and the Colony of Canada, at that time containing only about 80,000 souls. Since that day, the career of England has been simply marvellous. Since that day she has conquered India, grappled with Napoleon and brought down that colossus, reduced her public debt, reduced the number of her paupers and criminals, doubled her population, trebled her trade, and planted strong and permanent Colonies in Asia, Africa, Australasia, and almost every other corner of the world. As I said, these splendid accomplishments date from the day when her fortunes seemed to be at the lowest ebb. She has done more, she has done what has not been done by any other nation. At the present day, when the nations of Europe, her competitors, have been concentrating all their energies in creating and increasing their standing armies and in maintaining stupendous armaments, England has devoted all her energies to the arts of peace, so that to-day her accumulated wealth is such that she is the banker of the world. The citizens of England to-day hold in their pockets the bonds of kings and nations, and on the recent occasion when she was threatened with war from across the sea, from a quarter where she had reason to expect nothing but friendship, just by declining the bonds of that nation she inflicted upon it almost as much harm as would war itself. Well, these are guarantees of peace, I think, these are splendid guarantees of peace; but, if the day should come—which God forbid—if the day should ever come—which I again say God forbid—when England should have to repel foes, I am quite sure that all British subjects, all over the world, would be only too glad to give to her what help they could—all British subjects all over the world, not only British subjects of her own blood, but British subjects who are not of her own blood, but who have received from her the inestimable blessing of freedom.

Mr. McSHANE: Mr. Speaker, I cannot refrain from rising to give my humble support to this resolution, and to express my approval of the remarks of the hon. gentleman who moved it, and of those who supported it. I am not going to speak as to other portions of the Dominion, but shall confine the few remarks I intend to make, to my own native city of Montreal. I desire to say that everywhere in the city of Montreal the people are solid to a man in their support and defence of the British flag. I well remember the words used by one of the greatest men whom England ever sent to Canada—Lord Dufferin. At the time of the Fenian raid there were some in this country who attempted to decry the race to which I belong, but Lord Dufferin amply vindicated their loyalty by these patriotic words which he used, and which have endeared him to the heart of every Irishman. On that occasion, Lord Dufferin said:

“During my various progresses through the country, I have come into contact with hundreds and hundreds of kindly Irishmen, labouring in the field, the forest, by the riverside or in the mine; and never did I meet one who did not give me a hearty welcome, both as a fellow-countryman and as a representative of the Queen. Nay, on the day of peril, if in the Canadian line of battle I could find a regiment more essentially Irish in its composition than the rest, it would be to the keeping of that regiment I would by preference entrust the standard of the Queen and the flag of the Dominion.”

Mr. Speaker, we are a loyal people in the city of Montreal, loyal not only to the Empire, but loyal to ourselves. Let me mention a fact, sir, which will illustrate how the people of all races and creeds in Montreal act loyally together. You know, sir, that almost seven-eighths of the population of Montreal is Roman Catholic, but yet so liberal are we, so united are we in our desire to do justice to all, that only the other day we elected a Protestant mayor by acclamation. That was not only an act of justice of the majority, but it was the right of the Protestant minority. If all the people of Canada were as united as are the people of that city it would be all the better for the unity of Canada and of the Empire. I hope that this lesson will be remembered in other parts of the Dominion. I hope that throughout our entire country this example will be followed. I trust that no one will be debarred from occupying the highest position in the land on account of his religion, but that, under a broad spirit of toleration, a man's merit, and a man's good record as a citizen, will alone be taken into account. Every subject of the Queen felt proud when a few days ago great England placed her battle ships in line and, in the face of an almost united Europe against her, declared her readiness to defend the flag which had braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze. If we hope to make Canada a great country, and entitle her to a prominent part of the British Empire, we must stand united amongst ourselves. We must have no religious bigotry or intolerance, and we must ensure that to be a good Canadian is the best recommendation for any preferment at



the hands of the people I shall say no more except to repeat that I warmly and heartily support the resolution proposed by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), and to thank the House for having given me the opportunity to express the sentiments of loyalty which actuate myself and the people I have the honour to represent here

Mr. DAVIN. As we have heard from every quarter hon gentlemen rising to support the motion of my hon friend from Bruce (Mr. McNeill), I do not think it would be proper that the sentiments of the North-west Territories in regard to this question should remain unexpressed. Since President Cleveland sent forth his message, I have received from every part of the North-west Territories letters asking me to see the Minister of Militia, and endeavour to have arrangements made for the establishment of a volunteer and militia corps in the North-west Territories. This we should have, but cannot have at present. I do not quite agree with all that fell from the lips of the hon. member from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), much as I admire the magnificent speech which he contributed to this debate. There was one remark in it to which I feel obliged to take exception in particular. He said that Canada was a hostage on the part of England for her good behaviour to the United States, and that the choice lay between our being a hostage and being a bond of union between the United States and England. Sir, I do not wish, of course, to misrepresent the hon. gentleman, but I apprehend that by his proposition he meant to imply that, in some way or other, at present, Canada is a hostage, and the comment of the hon. gentlemen which followed, namely, that from the Atlantic to the Rockies, Canada was the most defenceless country on the face of the globe, showed that, in his opinion, Canada was to-day, to some extent, a hostage to the United States on the part of England. Now, I do not subscribe to the view that Canada is any source of weakness whatever to England or the Empire. On the contrary, I regard Canada at present as one of the strongest portions of the Imperial panoply of England. You have only, sir, to fancy what the position of England would be if the preachments of twenty-five or thirty years ago of such men as Mr. Goldwin Smith had been listened to. Some twenty-five or thirty years ago, Mr Goldwin Smith and others were preaching independence, but when they saw that that doctrine did not take with the people of the Dominion, they began to preach annexation. Suppose that either independence or annexation had taken place, and suppose that President Cleveland had sent such a message as he sent a few weeks ago with regard to Venezuela, would Britain have been in the strong position she is to-day—strong by reason of the fact that she has on the Pacific coast and the Atlantic coast the finest harbours in the world, and the greatest potentialities of war. So far from admitting, therefore, that Canada is a source of weakness, I believe that Canada is a source of strength to the Empire, and contains within itself the possibility of far greater strength. It is this want of foresight, this inability to see what the future has in store, that is one of the main causes of the position which hon. gentlemen opposite have so long occupied. My hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) condemned with a sneer, and a deserved sneer, those paltry greengrocer statesmen at St Stephen's who followed the great Chatham, who created an Empire, but it is the same want of foresight which these men exhibited that is shown by hon gentlemen opposite. They cannot tell what Canada is likely to become twenty or thirty years hence, or even less. I will, with the permission of the House, say a few words expressive of the feeling in the North-west. The people of the United States some twenty-five years ago were talking of manifest destiny. They had no idea then of what the North-west Territories and Manitoba were likely to become. They had no idea at the time of what Manitoba was likely to be. But, sir, they thought, and thought mistakenly, that the people of Canada were in favour of annexation. Time passed on and they found that there was no feeling of that kind. And now, sir, I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I refer to a circumstance which occurred in Toronto some 22 years ago. At that time Dr Tiffany came from the United States to Toronto and gave a lecture in Shaftesbury Hall on "The New Civilisation." And what was this new civilisation that was to enlighten the world, this new civilisation at the feet of which old England was to sit, at the feet of which men who had in their veins the blood, and in their hearts and brains the traditions, of old England, were to sit? That civilisation was the civilisation of the United States. Sir, I yield to no man in my admiration of the United States, I yield to no man in my sympathy with the struggle that country has made. But, if I am to look at it from that point of view, I must compare that civilisation with the civilisation of other countries. I am driven to believe that, while that country has energy, while it has inventiveness, while it has 65 millions of dollar-getters and breeders of dollar-getters,

it is lacking in many of the great qualities of civilisation which have marked the progress of other countries. Now, Mr. Speaker, Dr. Tiffany heralded the immediate annexation of this country to the United States. The St. George's Society waited upon a young man who was just then come to Toronto, who was not a Canadian, and had then no intention of becoming a Canadian, and asked him to reply to this speech of Dr. Tiffany. The young man accepted that invitation, and, in replying to Dr. Tiffany, he made a quotation from John Stuart Mill which I desire to give to this House. When men of the school of Bright and men of the school of Mill spoke in favour of the view that the colonies, the very moment they should express the desire for independence, should be allowed to go, it never entered their heads for one moment that the time would come, when all over the world wherever British Colonies were, the sentiment of those colonies would be not a centrifugal but a centripetal force, not a desire to move away from the old motherland, but actually a desire to draw nearer to England, regarding the Mother Country with a passion of reverence and patriotism greater even than Englishmen have. A great man, a man born in India, has asked :

“ What should they know of England who only England know ?  
The poor little street-bred people who vapour and fume and brag,  
They are lifting their heads in stillness to yelp at the English flag.”

But that is not the sentiment all over the colonies; this is not the sentiment of the people of India, Their sentiment is more Imperial, as is the sentiment of Canada, than the sentiment of many parts even of England itself. Now John Stuart Mill,—and I happened to have the honour, and it was one of the greatest honours of my life, to meet that gentleman,—thought, notwithstanding his extraordinary powers of thought and his extraordinary political insight, that the time would surely come when the colonies would want to leave the Mother Country. But still, he perceived the great advantage of the colonial relation, and this is what he said :

“ But though Great Britain could do perfectly well without the colonies, and though on every principle of morality and justice she ought to consent to their separation, should the time come when, after full trial of the best form of union, they deliberately desire to be dissevered, there are strong reasons for maintaining the present slight bond of connexion, so long as not disagreeable to the feelings of either party. It is a step, as far as it goes, towards universal peace, and general friendly co-operation among nations. It renders war impossible among a large number of otherwise independent communities; and, moreover, hinders any of them from being absorbed in a foreign State, and becoming a source of additional aggressive strength to some rival Power, either more despotic or closer at hand, which might not always be so unambitious or so pacific as Great Britain. It at least keeps the markets of the different countries open to one another and prevents that mutual exclusion by hostile tariffs which none of the great communities of mankind, except England, have yet outgrown.”

Some Hon. Members: Oh, Oh.

Mr. DAVIN: Yes, that is a splendid adumbration of the Imperial zollverein that my hon. friends are in favour of.

“ And, in the case of the British possessions, it has the advantage, specially valuable at the present time, of adding to the moral influence and weight in the councils of the world of the Power which, of all in existence, best understands liberty—and, whatever may have been its errors in the past, has attained to more of conscience and moral principle in its dealings with foreigners than any other great nation seems either to conceive as possible, or recognise as desirable.”

It is quite clear that the man who wrote that splendid paragraph, if he could have conceived of a time when the colonies would have the passionate Imperial patriotism that they have to-day, would have regarded it as a harbinger of a civilization greater than anything the history of the past can show. Well, Mr. Speaker, time passed away, and the Americans saw that the people of Ontario and the people of Quebec did not wish to join them. They found this true, not merely of the Anglo-Saxon—and, after all, that is an unphilosophical use of the term Anglo-Saxon? Why, sir, does any one suppose that the Anglo-Saxon element is the largest element in Canada or the largest to-day in the British Empire? The Celtic element is just as large or larger. Here we have my hon. friend from Three Rivers (Sir Hector Langevin), who spoke so pregnantly and eloquently for the French Celts, and the leader of the Opposition, who spoke, as he



usually does on occasions of this kind, with a mastery of his theme that it would be an impertinence on my part to eulogise. And we have my hon. friend from Montreal Centre (Mr McShane), who grew dithyrambic in his enthusiasm for the British flag—reminding me that he was one of a committee on the platform, some sixteen or seventeen years ago, when I spoke, in a theatre in Montreal, on the subject of “Ireland and the Empire.” Well, as I say, time passed away, and we opened up the North-West Territories. A political reference has been made—I think not with the taste which usually characterises my hon. friend from North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland). I think that, considering the character of the two speeches that opened the debate, and others, it would have been better if that political reference had not been made. Without making any political reference, I will only state the historical fact that the Conservative Party came into power and opened up the North-West and Manitoba. And since then what has happened? The waste lands of the United States, the lands opened there for settlement, are giving out. The American farmer is coming into the North-West under the immigration policy of my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior (Mr Daly).

Mr MCGREGOR: Politics.

Mr DAVIN I am not bringing in politics; I am only stating a historical fact. These men are coming into the North-West, and what has happened? We have had visits from General Sherman, we have had visits from leading statesmen belonging to the United States; we have had a visit from Mr Thompson, a literary man, who has contributed an article to one of the American magazines. And what does he say? He says that we have in the North-West Territories a grander heritage of fruitful and arable lands than the United States ever had. And what has been the result? Covetousness in regard to the North-West Territories has begun to fire the breast of the people of the United States, and the fact is that when they talk of Venezuela, and when they talk hostilely in regard to any other geographical spot on the map of the world, the spot they are thinking of is Manitoba and the North-West Territories. These places they covet; these lands they need. But, Mr. Speaker, Canada's position is such to-day that, with the potentialities of war and with the developed and inchoate material that we have on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, we in Manitoba, and the North-West Territories would not fear one whit. The writer in the St. Paul paper who stated that Manitoba and the North-West Territories could easily have been gobbled up, would have been greatly surprised if he could have witnessed what took place in Winnipeg on 30th December last, when the mere mention of Canada standing shoulder to shoulder with England, come what might, ready as our fathers had been, to fight and to win, and if we could not win, to die, created an enthusiasm so great that this gentleman would have been convinced that for the United States to capture Manitoba and the North-West Territories would have been a bigger job than they ever dreamed of. Sir, a gentleman spoke at that meeting—if a reference to his speech may be allowed—though it may procure a narrow sneer, but I can bear a narrow sneer—who could have used the very language with which he concluded a little speech that he made twenty-two years ago, and the first he made in Canada. These are the words he used, if I may be allowed to read them, and they sound almost prophetic.

They evidently regard us as if we were but a chip on the outer circle of a whirlpool into whose vortex we must inevitably be sucked. They have made laws with the idea of coercing us. They have now learned their error, and know they had to deal with

A spirit too delicate

To act their earthy and abhorred commands

I am certain it would not be good for Canada, whose spirit and the laws of whose development are evidently British. No! There is no danger of annexation. March may wed September, and time divorce regret, and the frost of January nip the flowers of June, but not a law of separation pass between us and the country of our great forefathers, in order that there should take place a marriage traitorous to our most valued and sacred traditions. Let the United States go on in their own course. We neither envy nor fear them. Let them flatter themselves with manifest destiny. But if they would hear the truth I can give them the result of nine months critical experience. I know the loyalty of the noble people of this country; and I can tell our Republican friends here to-night that that day shall never come when

scattered nations of British race looking with loyal love from every compass to the little mother isle,—

Girt by the dim strait sea.

And multitudinous wall of wandering wave—  
and reposing safe and glorious, in that sapphire embrace—will turn round to call on Canada to add her voice to swell the peal of filial gratulation of proud assurance of co-operation, and, should need be, of help, and will turn in vain.

Motion agreed to.

It being Six o'clock the Speaker left the Chair.

No. 8.

The EARL OF ABERDEEN to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.  
(Received March 18, 1896.)

Government House, Ottawa, Canada,  
February 29, 1896.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, with the request that it may be humbly laid at the foot of the Throne, an address to the Queen from the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, expressing the unalterable loyalty and devotion of the people of the Province to Her Majesty's person and Crown.

I have, &c.  
ABERDEEN.

Enclosure in No. 8.

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE, Your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario in Parliament assembled, desire, in view of recent events in relation to the territorial rights of Great Britain in South America and elsewhere, to assure Your Majesty of the unalterable loyalty and devotion of the people of Ontario to Your Majesty's person and Crown, and to the Empire over which Your Majesty reigns, and to assure Your Majesty that in case of any trouble affecting the interests of the Empire, no sacrifice on their part which the circumstances might demand would be considered too great by the people of this Province should they be called upon to repel invasion or to defend the integrity of the British Empire.

WM. D. BALFOUR,  
Speaker.

Toronto, Thursday, February 13, 1896.

No. 9.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to the EARL OF ABERDEEN.

MY LORD,

Downing Street, March 26, 1896.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 21st of February,\* in which you forwarded a copy of the House of Commons debates containing a resolution expressing the unalterable loyalty and devotion of the House to the British Throne and Constitution.

It has been a source of great satisfaction to Her Majesty to receive this assurance of Canadian loyalty, and to know that, in its efforts to maintain the legitimate interests of the British Empire, Her Majesty's Government can always rely upon the support and approval of the Canadian people.

I have, &c.  
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 10.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to the EARL OF ABERDEEN.

MY LORD,

Downing Street, April 9, 1896.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 29th February, forwarding an address to Her Majesty the Queen from the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario expressing the unalterable loyalty and devotion of the people of the Province to Her Majesty's person and Crown.

2. I have duly laid the address at the foot of the Throne, and have received Her Majesty's commands to desire that you will convey to the Legislative Assembly and people of Ontario her warm appreciation of the loyal and affectionate feeling that has prompted them to testify their devotion to their Sovereign in such a marked and unmistakeable manner.

I have, &amp;c.

J. CHAMBERLAIN.